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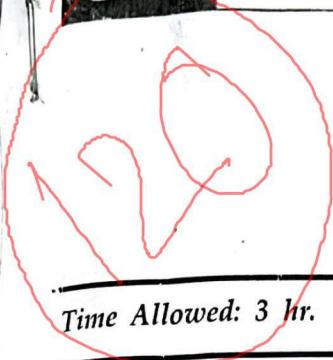
LAXMAN TIWARI

RANK - 71

**POLITICAL SCIENCE
TEST - 1**



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POLITICAL SCIENCE

Time Allowed: 3 hr.

Max. Marks: 250

Instructions to Candidate

- There are EIGHT questions. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all.
- Question no. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, THREE are to be attempted.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission certificate which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-cum-Answer (QCA) booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, wherever specified, should be adhered to.
- Attempts of questions shall be counted in chronological order. Unless struck off, attempt of a question shall be counted even if attempted partly. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the answer book must be clearly struck off.

Answers
can be improved
with more
detailed
basis in the end.
Answers need
to be more
detailed if
comments
provided

Name LAXMAN TIWARI

Mobile No. _____

Date _____

Signature Laxman

Invigilator's Signature _____

Invigilator's Signature _____

SECTION-A

Attempt all questions:

1. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: (10 × 5 = 50)

- (a) Soft power and its critique
- (b) Epistemic communities and international relations
- (c) Role of NGOs and INGOs in International relations
- (d) Coronavirus and Human Security
- (e) Power transition theory and realist balance of power system

A) power is the key area of study of international politics (I.P.) Morgenthau has said that whatever is the ultimate goal of a foreign polity, its immediate goals is already power.

Soft power is form of power employed by actors (states) to further their national interest. Chinmay Ghose Khur says that this power does not involve measures like intimidation, threat, use of military, use of economic sanction etc.

Rather, it employs soft mechanisms like culture, cuisine and attraction. For instance, promotion-

Remarks

Mention
Critical Comm
means / issues
of legitimate
of collective power
of US / UK
of Malory

of yoga by India, promotion of Indian cuisine like butter chicken by Masala, promotion of Indian culture by ICCR signifying India's promotion of its soft power.

However, realist schools criticise soft power as irrelevant.

According to Waltz, butter chicken, yoga cannot compel a country to do what India wants.

Hard power like deterrence, military, nuclear weapons remain timeless wisdom.

Thus, soft power is relevant. Hillary Clinton says that we should employ smart power (hard + soft). Moreover, John Clippman says that what we need is fast power.

Hence, power remain a matter of debate.

International relation is the study of nature of relation among nations. There are many schools of thought which aim to propound role of different -

Remarks

- institutions in establishing peace in IR.

Epesteric community is
Intellectual community. Emet Hoss says
 that this community has played a
 huge role in preventing world war III
 and use of nuclear weapon by propounding
 various norms, laws, ideas etc.

Similarly, JV Paul says
 that this community has influenced
 foreign policy of different countries and
 has ensured that their policies do not
 result in catastrophe. Acc to him,
 the role of the community is immense
 in establishing peace & security in IR.

However, Realist scholars
 like Mearsheimer says that what matters
 in IR is power, self-dependence and
 national interest. He does not believe

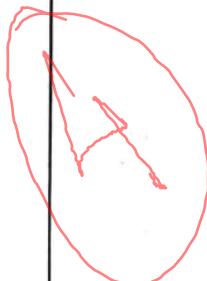
that epesteric community plays any-

Remarks

Mention
 Principles /
 role of
 Proletariat
 Capitalism
 Totalitarianism

role in achieving peace. Acc. to realist, the ultimate means to achieve peace is

- Balance of power
- Deterrence
- Division of enemy's territory.
- Diplomacy
- Use of hard power etc.



Thus, we cannot deny the contribution of epistemic community in ensuring peace in IR. Social constructivist scholar Nina Tannenwald proponds that epistemic community has created Taboo against use of nuclear weapon.

(C) There are multiple actors like state, international institutions, transnational actors (MNCs, NGOs, Terrorism) which have turned billiard board model of international politics (IP) into Cobweb model.

NGOs and INGOs have emerged a major player post-cold war though their participation has been there since from the beginning (christian -

Remarks

- missionaries coming with East India Company). However, in post cold war world order they are playing a key role.

As per liberal scholars like

Robert Redcliff, NGOs & IHNOS play various key role in IR like:-

- Holding awareness campaigns to help people becoming educated, aware.
- Helping people holding govt accountable
- Influencing govt's policies to achieve good governance (transparency international), becoming inclusive & better (oxfam house)
- Keeping a check on exploitative policies of MNCs. Role of NGOs in case of Vedanta acquiring Mukundia mills.
- ensuring, inclusive growth, eradication of poverty, promotion of human rights etc.

However, Marxist scholars

like Robert Cox say that NGOs are the puppet of MNCs and they-

Remarks

Mention traditional classification what the two groups consist of political & commercial

- work to generate hegemony in favour of capitalists. Similarly, IB report in India shows that IHGs are indulging in anti-development agenda and causing harm to India's economy.

Thus, NGs & IHGs play a key role in achieving peace, development (ICAN in non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, COVID-19 related work) yet there is a need to keep a check on NHGs.

D) Security is the central theme of SP. SP theories are actually security theories. The recent outbreak of coronavirus pandemic has questioned the debate around security in SP.

For realist scholars, security means national security. They provide numerous way to protect national security like deterrence, diplomacy, defence etc.

However, the concept of human security propounded by Ann. J. Remarks

- Tickner (feminist scholar) becomes important. Acc. to her, national security is a narrow concept, what is needed is human security.

Covid-19 has challenged realist's timeless wisdom of national security. Covid-19 not only has posed challenge to health security but also to economic security, political security, national security. For instance, Covid-19

is going to cause economic recession which will ultimately threaten national security. And this security dilemma cannot be resolved through balance of power, deterrence or defence.

Hence, Copenhagen scholar Barry Buzan correctly suggests that

security has to be multidimensional like economic, political, social, healthy etc. And mechanisms like, norms, values, cooperation, dialogues etc will help addressing these security dilemmas.

thus, Covid-19 has made sure that the concept of security / needs to be multidimensional.

Remarks
Mention the need to relook at the traditional security & biological security with environmental factors

(C) Acc. to Morgenthau, whatever is the ultimate aim of a foreign policy, power is always the immediate end. Power is central to the study of FP.

Kenneth Organsky has given power transition theory. Acc. to him, power keeps shifting from status quoist power to revisionist power. For instance, power will shift from USA to China as per this theory. He propounds that a superpower maintains its hegemony for not more than 100 years.

However, Realist scholars like Kenneth Waltz, Mearsheimer believe that power is well balanced where there are two superpowers. Acc. to them, nuclear weapons has emerged as the ultimate weapon of peace as it prevented WWIII. They do not support multipolarity as it may lead to war.

However, Complex Interdependent scholar Joseph Nye suggest that current world order has become too complex hence any linear theory will not be able to capture its essence.

3. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Critically Evaluate system theory and Mortan Kaplan's model of International relation. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) Explain the difference between Collective Security and Collective defence. Is it true to say that Collective Security involves an extension of the Principle of Collective Defence to international politics? (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Discuss Transnational Social Movements. (250 Words) (20)

Social movements are 'collective movements'

for 'collective demands' - (Mc Adams)

In the present global order, trans-national social movements have become all pervasive.

Transnational social movements (TSM) are defined as social movements crossing political boundaries of nation-states. Noam Chomsky says that globalisation has integrated the needs & demands of the people across borders. He calls transnational social movements as 'Justice'

TSMs have been for multiple demands of the people:-

⑨ [Gender Justice]

Jean Bethke Elstein says that present social movements are-

Remarks

- no more 'gender-blind'. women are rising up and speaking up against their marginalisation, neglect & trivialisation. Recent wave of #METOO movement spread across borders and helped holding many elites accountable for their misdeeds. The debate of Gender Justice has become more evident than ever due to protest related to feminisation of Refugee, poverty etc.

(b) climate justice

Harding says that climate change is affecting everyone alike. social movements demanding climate justice are not limited to political boundaries. people of Germany and people of Ghana are no longer separated by borders. Noam Chomsky calls Hamburg movement as worst climate justice movement.

Remarks

① Refugee Justice

present world order is in the state of flux. Increased numbers of civil wars, proxy wars have given rise to the numbers of refugee. For instance, disturbance in middle-east has pushed people away in such a number never seen before. Social movements against mistreatment of refugees have become prominent. They are demanding eradication of issues of xenophobia, Islamophobia etc. John Gaddis says that though we have killed the python, but we given rise to many snakes.

② Human Rights

international NGOs like compassion international, Greenpeace etc are working hard to promote and protect people's human right not only civic & political but also cultural, social, environmental. Bunker poresh says that there a transnational movement.

Remarks

of people demanding protection of ethnic right & promotion of multiculturalism. Social movements have been more aggressive in forcing govt's to change their policies.

② Good governance

Joseph Stiglitz highlights 'democratic deficit' in global governance in his work 'Globalisation & its discontents'. Demands for accountability, transparency, responsiveness, democratic culture have increased everywhere.

Hence, transnational nature of social movements have made them more strong in their approach.

Thus, we can remember Aurobindo Ghosh who had said that aggregation is the law of nature. Hence, transnationalism is promoting cosmopolitanism to solve some of the pending challenges like climate change, terrorism etc.

Remarks

Mention patterns emerging in societies in context of Conference of parties -

Comparative politics

(A) There are multiple schools of thought to study IP and they propound different approaches & model to analyse the discipline. Realism is known as the 'dominant / hegemonic discourse' and 'Timeless wisdom' of the discourse.

System Theory of IP is also called as the Scientific theory of Realism. It was propounded by Kenneth Waltz in his book 'Theory of IP'. He calls his system theory as scientific and timeless wisdom.

According to him, decisions and foreign policy of an actor is decided by the system of IP which is anarchical. He criticizes Morgenthau who held that foreign policy makers also influence the the & policy. According to Waltz, IP is Anarchical and not hierarchical. Actors do not have differentiated functions but same function - protection of national interest.

Remarks

Actors do differ in capability and not in function. Whoever is the foreign policy maker, he will always be compelled by the system of IP.

However, Fazl Zakaria, Neo-realist, says that it is inappropriate to eliminate the role of foreign policy makers to make theory scientific.

Further, Mosan Kaplan has also propounded a model to study the field of IP. He calls his theory as scientific. Acc. to him, States play multidimensional role, the ideology to

States does not matter. He gives 10 model to determine the IP. Like -

Bipolar - tight, loose, very loose, universal actor, Unipolar, Multipolar etc

However, Stanley Hoffmann says that Kaplan's model is a 'huge misstep in right direction'. His model appears as a strange form of parlour game.

Remarks

Needs detailed limitations of system approach of model, critical comment

Thus, Social constructivists like Alexander Wendt says that IP is decided by cooperation, assurance and reciprocity which have been ignored by both Waltz & Kaplan.

(B) Security remains the core value of the IP. Irrespective of school of thought, scholars believe that security is an essential component to ensure peace.

Collective security as per Woodrow Wilson is based on the concept that 'All for one, and one for one'. It is an institutionalised form of BOP where states come together to punish the aggressor. UN and later UN are called as the main bodies to exercise collective security. It is based on liberal idea.

However, collective defence is a mechanism where nations having same interest forms a group like NATO, Warsaw pact.

Remarks

Mention
Detailed
differences/
Benefits
of world
of going to problem
of war

In collective defence, attack on one member is considered as attack on all. Unlike collective security, here aggression is already known.

However, Indian perspective has been that both concepts are different. India says that collective security must replace collective defence. Collective defence does not ensure peace, rather promotes anarchy in it.

However, USA says that UN Charter in Sec 51 gives right to protect sovereignty and national interest. As per USA, collective defence is most practicable form of collective security and it is an extension of the former in EP.

Moreover, social constructivist scholar Alexander Wendt says that 'anarchy is what states make of it'. Hence, both concepts promote anarchy.

Thus, it would not be appropriate to say that collective defence is an extension of collective security.

SECTION-B

Attempt all questions:

5. Answer the following questions in about 150 words each: $(10 \times 5 = 50)$

- (a) Discuss three Generation of Human Rights.
- (b) Technological challenges to the theory of deterrence.
- (c) Basic assumptions of the balance of power system and its critique.
- (d) 'I can't breathe' movement and question of Human Right.
- (e) Complex interdependence.

A) Human rights are those conditions without which no one can seek to be at his best - HJ Laski. The currency of human rights became dominant post declaration of UDHR.

Kazal vasak has differentiated all human rights (HRs) in 3 generations.

① 1st generation

It involves political & civic rights. UDHR- 1948 and covenant on political & civil rights - 1967 became guiding force to ensure. It made people independent of state and violence and transformed sovereignty from power to responsibility.

Remarks

Mention
red blue &
red green
of CCP

(b) Second generation)

It involves social and economic right. covenant on social & economic rights - 1967 became its foundational pillar. This generation promoted the concepts like welfare state, gender justice, getting rid of poverty, hunger etc.

(c) 3rd generation)

It denotes cultural & environmental right. This promoted the idea of preservation of ethnic cultures and gave rise to multiculturalism, value pluralism. moreover, it also promotes environmental consciousness. Stockholm convention, Rio conference, Kyoto protocol, Paris deal are the result of this generation.

Thus, 3-generations have promoted the notion of all round development of humans. However, overflows in currency of HRs have made do their values to decline.

Remarks

D) Deterrence has replaced B.P. forms the centrality of the discipline. It is a realist 'timeless wisdom' to frighten the enemy before attacking. It is a psychological game.

Kenneth Waltz believed that deterrence and particularly nuclear deterrence has been able to prevent WWIII. He calls nuclear weapons as ultimate weapons of peace.

However the relevance of deterrence theory has been challenged by emerging technologies.

Buchanan says that present state IT technology has rendered deterrence irrelevant. As cyber attacks can be conducted by anonymous players which can cause more damage than nuclear weapons. In such scenario, it is very difficult to deter them.

Moreover, space based warfare has further challenged deterrence concept; for instance, India's success -

Remarks

Mention 2020 NPF Conference / space

In 'operation Shakti' to destroy a satellite
or ~~if~~ USA success in dropping weapons
from satellite cannot be deterred.

Similarly, rising technology
in the field of AI, cryptocurrency,
blockchain, Big data etc can cause
more damage without revealing the
source.

However, realist scholars
still believe that deterrence can work
in even these scenario. For instance,
in case of cyber attack, they prescribe
'Deterrence by denial' and Deterrence by
punishment.

Thus, the theory of deterrence
remains a matter of debate.

(c) David Hume calls BOP as Common sense.
The theory of BOP in IP axis is at
at same par with theory of gravity in
physics.

BOP is a realist concept and
is treated as an instrument to
promote and protect national interest.

Remarks

BOP operates in :-

- Regional level.
- Conventional weapons
- 5-6 powers
- States as players

Basic Assumptions of the BOP system

Morgenthau says that

BOP system is a reg + check arbitrariness of a power. Some of the assumptions are:-

- when a state increases its power others become insecure.
- Balancing a power through grouping is better than bündneagoring.
- proportionality of a state's power has to checked both internally & externally means to achieve BOP are:-
- Diplomacy
- Arms Race
- Defence
- Deterrence
- war
- Dividing the territory of aggressor

Mention major geopolitical analyses / Critical factors / Last reference

however, this system has been criticised by Pt. Nehru as nervous state of peace. Woodrow

remarks

- Wilson says that we only know that BOP was working when it fails. Moreover, English school scholar Hedley Bull says that condition of BOP are missing at present as BOP cannot work at global level and in Cobweb model. Similarly Joseph Nye says that BOP has been replaced by Complex interdependence where cooperation rather than conflict has become the priority.

Thus, as suggested by Robert Keohane, BOP system has become irrelevant. Yet we cannot ignore the BOP system in case of conflict between USA & China where BOP is being used in economic & technological field. Hence, BOP indeed remains a commonsense.

(D) Human right are available to us just because of the virtue of being humans. This concept has evolved -

Remarks

-from physical rights to the rights for good life.

'I cannot breathe' movement has become a global social movement which is being promoted by social media. This movement highlights the problem of pollution. Ramchandra Guha says that this is both deep as well as shallow ecology.

The pollution level in Delhi has become 400 times worse than required level. Same goes for many metropolitan cities around the world.

This movement demands change in modes of production i.e. adopting environment friendly technology, addressing climate change, and promoting afforestation. This movement is more prominent in periphery & semi-periphery countries.

Thus, human right activists are demanding right to breathe fresh air. Acco. to them, without fresh air we cannot develop ~~ourselves~~ ourselves to the potential.

Remarks

Mention George Floyd's position of Black White society Black inferiority

thus, the domain of HOs is increasing with 'I can't breathe movement.'

(E) The field of IP is studied by different schools who see world order through different lenses. Complex-interdependence

(CI) model is post cold war model which assimilates both realism and liberalism.

Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane have propounded this theory where they say that world has been complexity interconnected. For instance, despite being hostile to each other, India-China cooperates at WTO, climate deals, US-China cooperates in trades.

Basic features of CI

- One is forced to love whom one would love to hate.
- 3-dimensional world order:
 - militarily - unipolar
 - economically - multipolar
 - poles diffused
- presence of civil societies, NGOs, international organisations have reduced state's domination.
- Cooperation, conflict, competition, containment

Remarks

However, even CI accepts that concepts like national interest, anarchical IP cannot be denied.

7. Answer the following questions:

- (a) Nye's conception of soft power was designed to remedy the narrow focus of realist power analysis. Discuss. (200 Words) (15)
- (b) What is national interest and how to understand the identical conflictual and complementary interest of nations? discuss with suitable examples. (200 Words) (15)
- (c) Major Problems with the theory of Nuclear Deterrence. (250 Words) (20)

Deterrence comes from the word 'Deterre' which means 'to frighten'. It has replaced 'Balance of power' from the centrality of international politics.

Realist scholars call deterrence as the ultimate mechanism to achieve peace.

Post World War II, the world order became bipolar. Hence, the IP became global in true sense. BOP is a regional concept, it cannot work at global level. Hence, deterrence became an important mechanism.

Kenneth Waltz says that nuclear deterrence became the guidance during cold war. It was based on the concept of 'mutually Assured destruction', hence it prevented rational actors of IP from starting a war. For instance, former USSR president -

Remarks

- Brezhnev once remarked that only a mad person willing to do suicide can fight a nuclear war.

Similarly, Arnold Wolfers in his work 'The balance of terror' says that nuclear deterrence became a mechanism which ushered in 'era of peace' during cold war. Moreover, he calls nuclear weapons as the ultimate weapon of peace.

However, the theory of deterrence faces several challenges.

Social constructivist scholar Nicholas Onuff

says that we live in the world of our own making, we think that deterrence would prevent someone from attacking you. This creates the problem of Atoms race and creates more possibility of nuclear war.

Similarly, Nina Tannenwald says that nuclear deterrence has become irrelevant because of Taboos. She says that USA has not been able to use nuclear weapon after Japan.

Remarks

Mention how it may pose a threat to a relationship of balance of power, that's why it may pose a threat to the security of non-use of nuclear power.

USA suffered massively in Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan yet it could not use nuclear weapon. further, the attack of 9/11 further challenged the credibility of nuclear deterrence.

Further, Henry Kissinger in his book 'World Order' says that the assumption of realists that actors of RP are rational is not relevant. He says that nuclear deterrence cannot work against a suicide bomber or ISIS as they are not rational.

Moreover, Pt. Ramesh Thakur says that nuclear deterrence of India failed when with a goal of developing nuclear, Pakistan attacked India (Kargil war). Similarly, India has also gone for surgical strikes and Air strikes against Pakistan which questions the credibility of nuclear weapons.

Thus, Joseph Nye says that complex-interdependence has become the norm of RP which has reduced the relevance of nuclear deterrence theory. However, we need to accept that nuclear

- deterrence theory is not totally accepted in current global order.

(A) political science is study of sharing & shaping power. In the field of IP, power is exercised by the actors in multiple forms - soft, hard, smart & fast.

Realism is known as the hegemonic school and 'timeless wisdom'.

Realism is power-mission. Maesheimer says that power is a means and power is an end, no amount of power is ever enough to overcome the security dilemma.

Realist scholars believe that power seeking behaviour of states compel them to go for power-politics. Acc. to them, hard power is always preferable over soft power. Kenneth Waltz says that soft power can create an attraction but it cannot compel a state to do something desirable. soft power

Remarks

- takes time to get established. soft power will not be able to protect national interest in the anarchical field of IP.

However, Joseph Nye, a scholar of 'complex-interdependence' says that realist assumption about hard power causes a state to overstretch itself. For instance, former USSR overreliance on hard led to its overstretching and ultimately its disintegration. Similarly, USA overstretched itself and declined.

Hence, Joseph Nye believes that present world order 3-dimensional -

- politically - unipolar
- economically - multipolar
- pole is diffused. Thus, we cannot rely on hard power. He says that states go for use of smart power which is a blend mixture of hard power & soft power. Similarly, Hillary Clinton says that realist conception is 18th century idea and it cannot be applied in 21st century. She emphasizes on diplomacy, defence & development.

Remarks

Mention overview of types of power
of more detailed classification

Further, John Clipperton says that all other forms of power will not work because world has become very fast. Hence, he gives concept of fast power survival of the fastest.

Thus, realist conception denies role of ideas, values, epistemic community in achieving peace. Richard Arlenley describes realist proposition as 'Anarchy problematique' and 'fetishism of power' which is not sustainable in 21st century'.

- (B) National interest is the nucleus of the field of IP. Acc to Morgenthau, National interest is superior. Macchiavelli says that national interest is non-compromisable. He says the 'Real Politik' ie about 'Raison d'etat'.

Morgenthau defines national interest as the core interests of the nations. Actors in IP are aiming-

Remarks

*Mention
significance
of states
of behaviour
to policy
Robinson's
classification*

- to protect and promote their interests like - Territorial integrity, Sovereignty, welfare of people, economic development as they form core national interests.

National interest keeps on changing over a period of time - for instance, non-alignment was one quo now of Indian foreign policy but now we are going for multi-alignment. This appeal to be conflictual identical national interest but we need to understand that national interests operate in an environment and are influenced by it.

Moreover, USSR and USA both wanted to eliminate nuclear weapons but they could not agree due to varying need of the interest. Further, China is working with BRICS and SCO to bring about reforms in global institutions like UN, World Bank, WTO etc. India's national interests also demand the same despite having some interests, China opposes India's entry into UNSC, NSG etc.

Further, in IP actions having -

- different ideologies often tend to cooperate when their national interests demand. for instance, USA and China had poles apart ideologies, yet they entered into dialogue through Henry Kissinger doctrine to counter former USSR. Same can be said for China and India. They fight each other in other domains but in institutions like WTO, climate deal etc they cooperate as their national interests demand to do so. Morgenthau has held that there is no permanent friend, no permanent enemy what is permanent is national interest.

However, Md Yunus calls national interest as a mucky and delusional concept. According to him, Pakistan Army pursue enmity with India in the name of national interest but in reality, it is their interest. thus, national interest whether clear or ambiguous concept, remains the guiding force of foreign policies.

Remarks

8. Answer the following questions:

- (a) No climate justice without gender justice. Comment. (300 Words) (25)
- (b) It is only through an optimal diversification among soft and hard power (i.e., the smartest power) that leaders will be able to maximize national influence in the transformed world. Discuss. (300 Words) (25)

(A) The contemporary world order is in the state of flux. There is rise of many types of social movements demanding justice against historical injustice. In this context, climate justice and gender justice both are linked.

Ecofeminism has emerged as a dominant school in the field of SP. Vandana Shiva in her work 'monocausal mind' says that environment is feminine. Men exploit both women & environment. Women is very close to environment. Hence, without uplifting women, the linear approach to deal with climate change issues would be futile.

Gender justice movements demand special care for women, LGBTR and end of patriarchy in order to empower marginalised section

Cynthia Enloe in her work 'Banana, bathtubs and bases' highlight that most of the women are working as farmers, sex workers, diplomats wives. She demands an end to masculinist approach to study ZP. Similarly, Jean Bethke Elstain says that climate change is offecting women in worst manner. Most of the refugee, climate related, are women. They have to face rape, molestation, marginalisation, trafficking etc.

Hence, gender justice cannot be seen in isolation. We need to understand the environment in which women live. Their closeness with environment make them most crucial element to attain climate justice.

For instance, in present world we have To+ farmers who are female. If we empower them, they will use -

Remarks

- advanced mechanisms which will reduce climate change. Agriculture is the 3rd largest polluter.

Hence, all major climate related summits highlights the role of women. As early as in 1972, Stockholm convention highlighted that gender & climate are interlinked. Similarly, in Rio Conference, Agenda 21 signifies that women must become the primary drivers of climate justice.

Further, deal of the century, Paris deal, adopts Gender Action plan (GAP) which points the probable contribution of women towards achievement of the target of limiting temp. by 2^o.

Moreover, international organisation on migration says that 70% climate refugees are women.

The most sufferers of climate related shocks are women.

Thus, climate justice must aim at incorporating gender.

Remarks

Mention 4 P's of Wage
1. Price
2. Production
3. Distribution
4. Consumption

- justice so as to attain success-

The adoption of UN resolution 1325

which highlights women's role in ensure ~~people~~ peace & security in world & should be a guidance to climate negotiations about women's role.

thus, the time has come to remove gender bias lens from the politics of climate justice.

(B)

power is the central pillar of the discipline of FP yet it remains contested. Morgenthau says that whatever is the ultimate goal of foreign policy, power is always the immediate goal. The exercise of power has been diverse like - Hard power, soft power, smart power, fast power etc.

Realist scholars like

Machiavelli, Raul Hilberg, Kenneth Waltz

believe that it is good to use soft power but it is best to use

Remarks

R

- hard power: Acc to them, hard power materialises very early unlike soft power. Waltz says that Butterchicken, Taj Mahal yoga can attract but cannot compel a nation to do what one wants further, soft power takes very long to be materialised.

Social constructivist

scholars like Nicholas Onuf, Alexander Wendt believe that soft power is preferable over hard power. soft power creates a pressure on state to work for the peace & prosperity. It does not lead to anarchy like hard power.

However, complex - interdependence scholar, Joseph Nye says that in current world order, both hard power & soft power cannot work. For instance, if there is use of hard power, the exercising actor may overstretch itself and will ultimately decline (ex- USSR, USA). And on whom it is exercised, it will compel -

Remarks

-that actor to coopt and bandwagon to check the hegemon. It will promote distrust and anarchy.

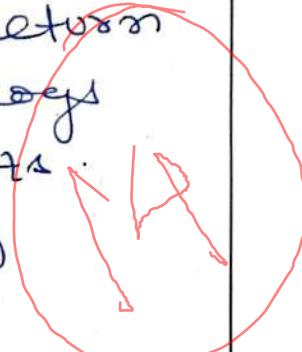
He further says that soft power alone will not be sufficient as it is not compelling.

Hence, he proponends use of smart power, which is a skewed mixture of hard power and soft power. Acc. to him, smart power can a parameter of soft diplomacy to promote national interest. Similarly, Hillary Clinton says that hard power is a thing of past. Smart power is the new technology which is based on development, diplomacy and defence.

For instance, USA policy in Afghanistan is said to be smart power. It does not use -

Remarks

- only force like Vietnam. USA gives economic aid and also uses force as and when required. Similarly, China's BRI project is a smart power where it gives developmental loans, develops infrastructure and in return acquires bases, ports and deploys military to promote its interests (Djibouti, Hambantota; Gwadar)



Similarly, India's foreign policy is also based on an appropriate mixture of hard power & soft power (idealism & realism). On one hand we promote our cuisine, culture, bollywood to win the trust of people. On the other hand, we use hard power like economic measures (Malaysia), surgical strikes & air strikes (Pakistan), military stand off (Ladakh & Doklam).

Thus, in the complex interdependent world, Smart power has become the new currency to

Remarks

- promote and further national interest.
However, John Chipman gives the concept of FAST power where he believes that only fastest power survives. Hence, Smart power along with Fast power can be employed to achieve national interests.

Mention
importance of
Smart Power / Smart
Create culture / Feudalism / intend dependence

Remarks